361 [226] We do not know yet what determines these shifts to nearby locations; they may perhaps be caused by the death of an
[768] Indian or by some communal misfortune. The distances involved are so small that the moves could not possibly derive from any significant ecological changes.

342 In order to keep rain water from seeping underneath the thatch, the Tagnani and Tawite Indians cover the inner ground perimeter of their conical huts with a series of overlapping plates made of jatobá shells.

The rain does not leak in.

354 It would not be fair to imagine the interior of the huts as hot and stuffy; air penetrates freely in between the leaves.

Nevertheless, the situation changes when the Indians light their small fires. Happily for them, the thatch is sufficiently permeable to keep their eyes free from the grave diseases often encountered among primitive peoples whose dwellings are smoky.

352 Household furnishings are rudimentary; except for the grids mentioned above and a few large pots, nothing else might properly be termed a piece of furniture. All other objects are tools, artifacts,
[484] weapons and ornaments [227] [plates p. 222] which they carry with them on every journey, no matter how brief. Only the heavier mortars and graters, which cannot be carried easily, are left in the hut. These barbarians in turn could say: "Omnia mea mecum porto" [everything that is mine I carry with me].

Straw pallets, cured hides, hammocks, sleeping platforms, cots and true beds represent types of bedding characteristic of different stages of civilization.

513 The use of pallets already indicates a certain degree of advancement; but the Nambicuara have no bed other than the earth. They sleep on the bare ground.

They did not possess the hammock, that inseparable companion of their neighbors the Paressi; now that they are acquainted with it, they hold it in high regard. It was difficult to obtain any rest among them during the night; no sooner had we set up our hammock than three or four candidates would appear... And once they had taken over, it was hard to get it back. We were frequently awakened by Indians who forcibly asserted their desire to sleep in the hammocks we occupied.

593 The conversation becomes animated and laughter spreads. In the dark
182 prairie the camp fires burn. Around the fire, the only protection
462 against the cold which descends, behind the frail windbreak of palms
● [342] and branches hastily planted in the ground on the side where wind or
[415] rain is expected; near the baskets filled with poor objects which constitute their whole earthly treasure; lying on the ground which extends around, haunted only by other bands equally hostile and fearful, the couples, embracing tightly, are truly seen as the support of one another, the comfort, the only help against the daily difficulties and the dreamy melancholy invades the Nambikwara soul from time to time. The visitor who camps in the brush with the Indians for the first time feels tenderness as well as anguish and pity before the spectacle of this humanity so completely unprotected; crushed, apparently against the soil of a hostile land by some implacable cataclysm; naked, shivering around the hesitant fires. He circulates tip-toe among the underbrush, in the dark, avoiding crushing in his walk a hand, an arm, a trunk, whose warm reflections are seen by the light of the fires. But this misery is animated by whispering and laughter. [56] The couples clasp one another as in the nostalgia of a lost union. Their caresses, at the same time tender and candid, are not interrupted by the passage of the stranger. One senses in all
[157] of them an immense gentleness, a profound carelessness, a naive and charming animal satisfaction, and, emanating from all that, something like the most moving and credible expression of human tenderness.

593 Thus it is not surprising that the attitude of the two sexes as con-
831 cerns one another is characterized by intense interest. This interest
462 is translated in certain cases by the vocabulary. In fact the Nambikwara
562 have only one word to express "pretty" and "young," and a single word to
[517] signify "ugly" and "old" (munjene, jeʔene, bl). Their esthetic judgments are thus based essentially on human considerations, and above all, sexual ones. But the interest which is manifested between the sexes is of a complex nature. Men judge women in a mass, as being a little different from themselves. Depending on the situation, they consider them with desire, admiration, or tenderness. In itself the confusion of terms pointed out above constitutes permanent homage. But it must not be forgotten that the form of economic adaptation realized by sexual division of labor a capital role attributes to the women, since family life rests to a very large degree (probably the greatest) on the collecting of the women, but it represents an
[83] inferior type of activity. The ideal life is conceived on the model of agricultural production or hunting. To have plenty of manioc, and

857 iõndage ʔutẽnturu kajãno kajãn kajãn hõte kajãnde ʔutentere kuajkano (b1).

When I am big, I shall catch the caetetu, caetetu, caetetu, the monkey, the caetetus, I shall kill them when it (the dog) barks.

[368] She makes an error in grammar which the father points out
857 laughingly: she should have said tilõdage, "when I am big,"
154 instead of the masculine form she used. The error is interesting, placed in context, which manifestly shows a feminine desire to raise the economic activities reserved for that sex to the level of those which are the men's privilege. As the exact sense of ʔutẽntere is "to kill by beating with a stick or club" (here, the digging stick), the informant tries unconsciously to identify [71] feminine collecting and gathering (which can only aim at the capture of small animals) with the masculine hunt, armed with bow and arrows.

593 The relationships between brothers and sisters have not given rise to any particular observation. In the central and southern group, one finds a special expression to designate the brother of the same sex, nlaõre, "the other one"; this term is not only applied to kinship relations, but also designates objects be-
[342] longing to the same type. Thus the five or six poles planted obliquely which fan out from the center, and which hold up the first skeleton of the hut, are called indelẽaore; likewise, the
[534] double (kalõde) or triple (lutandione) pipes or whistles. Friendly
857 groups are said to be "brothers" (1) also, and in discussions

1. See p. 92.

between adversaries they use the exclamation:

17. kakõtjane tãkanããtjane (b1).

Wicked one! You are no longer my brother!

[192] which indicates that among the Nambikwara the term "brother" has the same wide sense which it possesses in our vocabulary.
857 But in the heart of the infantile society, numerous attitudes take
182 form which prepare or advance later relationships. The orphan baby a9 spends nearly the whole day in the hands of her young sister a8 (one is 2 to 3 years old, the other 6 to 7). Her sister takes care of her, carries her, feeds her. a19 and a20 (who are "mothers") act like elders toward these two children, in a way more marked than the real difference in age calls for. In fact, a8 and a20 are contemporaries. The eldest, a19, cracks bacaiuva

1: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1948 SP17 Nambicuara SP17

[End Plate II]

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1-2. At the site of the semi-permanent village of group a1 (cf. p. 48). 3. Forced halt on the road by the same village (cf. p. 87 ff.).

[End Plate IV]

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1. Return from the bath. 2. Native C11 leaving for a solitary hunting expedition. 3-4. Camp life (cf. p. 16). 5. Little girl looking for edible roots and carrying a little monkey (Lagothrix sp.) on her head. 6. The two little girls a8 and a9 (cf. p. 42).

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

When rains come, the *Nambicuara* settle in temporary villages, and the men open circular gardens in the gallery forest by burning and felling the trees with stone (now steel) axes. They till the soil with pointed sticks and raise both bitter and sweet manioc, several kinds of maize which are different from those of their more civilized neighbors (Roquette-Pinto, 1938, p. 297 n.), beans, gourds, cotton, urucú, and a variety of small tobacco with tiny leaves. Despite the difficulty of fishing in the deep, clear tributaries of the Juruena River, they have moderate success using fish arrows, basket traps, and a drug made of a vine.

Food preparation.—Game is usually only half cooked in hot ashes, but it is sometimes smoked on rectangular or pyramidal babracots. Manioc is grated on thorns of the catizal palm (*Iriartea* sp.) imbedded in palm wood plants. To remove the poisonous juice of bitter manioc, the pulp is either squeezed in a strip of bark twisted spirally or buried for several days to allow the juice to drain off. Balls of the pulp are then sun-dried and packed in leaves in baskets or buried at marked places. In times of scarcity, perhaps months later, the half-rotten balls are made into flat cakes, hastily cooked in hot ashes, and eaten.

The *Nambicuara* cannot bear to eat salt, which they do not know how to prepare, or pepper, which they do not cultivate. Even hot food is cooled with water before it is eaten. Wild honey, too, is diluted with water. The only condiment is a variety of cumarú bean which has a strong, bitter almond taste. It is boiled in pots; afterward the liquid is drunk and the beans are mixed with food, especially with grasshoppers crushed in mortars. Armadillo meat is often ground with maize flour.

Domestic animals and pets.—The *Nambicuara* have many pets, especially monkeys, coatis, parrots, and birds. Domesticated animals were unknown until the Rondón Commission introduced chickens and dogs. Although at first extremely afraid of dogs, the Indians quickly adopted them and treated them with the same deep affection they show all their tame animals. Even now they are terrified by oxen seen at telegraph stations, and call them by the name given to the deadly spirits of the water and the bush. They do, however, hunt and eat horses and mules as if they were wild game.

HOUSES

The surprising variety of house types suggests recent borrowing from neighboring tribes. The *Nambicuara*, like the *Sirionó*, may formerly have lacked houses entirely. During most of the year, even at the present time, they build only scanty temporary shelters for a single night. These consist of branches of palms stuck into holes dug in the sand to form a half or quarter circle on the side from which the sun, the wind, or rain are expected (pl. 37, *center, left*). Each individual family builds its own

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

342 [361] shelter and lights its own fire in the opening. During the rainy season, villages consisting of one or more beehive huts are built on slight hillocks above the course of a secondary stream. Some of the *Eastern Nambicuara* build only shelters, although larger and stronger than the ones described. The beehive hut is very light, each about 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) in diameter. The frame consists of several long, supple poles, bent so that both ends can be stuck into the ground and tied together at the top, where they cross. Circular branches running horizontally are tied to the poles at different levels. The *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* have a more elaborate hut (pl. 37, *top*) whose perimeter is about 50 feet (15 m.). It has a central post from the base of which several forked poles run obliquely to support the bent poles of the external frame. All types of huts are thatched with horizontal layers of palm leaves, those of *Central* and *Western Nambicuara* exactly like the houses of their southern neighbors, the *Kepikiriwat*.

A gabled house without walls was also observed by Roquette-Pinto, who recorded other kinds of temporary huts. Some were built by sticking two branches into the ground, bending them over and attaching them to a horizontal pole tied to two perpendicular posts and covering them with bunches of grass.

352 513 The *Nambicuara*, although all their neighbors use hammocks, sleep on bare ground or on flat pieces of bark from the paxiuba palm. Because of this custom, the *Paressí* nicknamed them *Uaikoakôre*, "Those Who Sleep on the Ground."

CLOTHING AND ADORNMENT

[291] 301 Both sexes are naked, except that men sometimes tie a small tuft of buruty straw to their belt to cover the sex organs. Both men and women wear a thin, cotton-thread belt strung with white or black beads cut from river mollusk shells or from tucumã palm nuts. Such beads, with larger triangular pieces of mollusk shells, are also used for necklaces, earrings, bracelets, and other ornaments. Men wear grass or reed pins through their upper and lower lips; and, through their nasal septum, a larger pin made of a jacu (*Penelope*) feather mounted on a stalk covered with plaited cotton thread and porcupine quills and trimmed with a red toucan feather ring. Both sexes wear armlets and anklets of woven cotton, burity straw, feathers, parts of dried birds, fur, or mollusk or crawfish shells. Women wear one or more bracelets cut from the tail of the great armadillo and double bandoleers of plaited cotton dyed with urucú and decorated with porcupine quills. Hair ornaments are confined to men: circlets of plaited straw, of straw and and toucan feathers, or of fur with feather pendants. War dress consists of a jaguar-skin bonnet (pl. 36, [714] *top, left*) with a long, plaited buriti-straw tail painted with red stripes And dots hanging down from the nape of the neck.

2: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939)1948
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

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PLATE II.—Nambicuara and upper Guaporé Indians. *Top:* Pimenta Bueno Ind. *Center, left:* Nambicuara family shelter. *Center, right:* Nambicuara man wearing an armband. *Bottom, left:* Nambicuara family. *Bottom, right:* Woman drilling a mother of pearl earring. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss, except bottom, left, by courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

[end plate 2]

3: Lévi-Strauss E-5 (1938-1939) 1944
SP17 Nambicuara SP17

ties down to their smallest details. There is, undoubtedly, a function in chieftainship. This can, however, be reached only through analysis as the underlying principle of the institution. In other words, the differing structure of the digestive organs in man, ox, fish and clam do not point toward different functions of the digestive system. The function is always and everywhere the same, and can be better studied, and more fully understood where it exists under a simple form—for instance, in a mollusc. Similarly, and as Professor Lowie once wrote, if anthropology is to be considered as a scientific study, its subject matter cannot be individual cultures, but culture taken as a whole; the rôle of individual cultures being to offer, according to their own characteristics, special angles from which the basic functions of culture, although universal in application, can be more easily reached.

This will perhaps help us to eliminate preliminary questions which otherwise could have proved very difficult. Anthropologists in South America and elsewhere have been eagerly debating the question of whether these South American tribes—nomadic, relying mostly on collecting and gathering, with little or no agriculture, little or no pottery, and, in some cases, with no dwelling other than crude shelters—should be considered as truly primitive and as having preserved their exceptionally low cultural level through tarriance, or whether they did not previously possess a higher type of social and material organization and have regressed to a pseudo-archaism under unfavorable circumstances. The Nambikuara are one of those tribes which, along with the Siriono, on the other side of the Guaporé valley, the Cayapo, Bororo, Karaja of central Brazil, the so-called *Gé* of Central and Eastern Brazil, and some others, together form a kernel of primitiveness surrounded, in the West, by the higher tribes of the upper Amazon, the Bolivian plain and the Chaco, and from the Orenoco's to the La Plata's estuaries, by a coastal strip inhabited mostly by the Arawak, Carib and Tupi-Guarani linguistic families. An independent linguistic stock divided into several dialects, the Nambikuara seem to display one of the more backward cultures in South America. At least, some of their bands do not build huts and are wholly ignorant of pottery and, even among the others, these two arts are exceedingly poor. There is no weaving, except for the narrow arm and leg bands which are made of cotton; no dress whatsoever, either for the men or for the women; no sleeping contrivances, such as hammocks or platforms; the natives being used to sleeping on the bare ground without the protection of blankets, mats or hides.

clude at least one stretch of river and the "galeria" forest which lines its banks. Except during the planting and harvesting season the members of the band are on the move up and down the narrow confines of the territory. Within this hunting territory they have camping places rather than villages. A semipermanent camp site where fields are cultivated for 2 or 3 years is known as *sinaidéu*. Any place where the band or a family may stop overnight is known as *sidaru*. At present the Wakítisu band has one house (*síru*) at the place where it is farming. The entire band occupies the house, each family having its own fire around which it sleeps at night. The unmarried men gather around another fire. Julio informed me that their house is rectangular with stake walls and a gable roof covered with sapé thatch. Some years ago when the band was larger he said they occupied a different place on which they built three houses. These houses were built by placing a series of saplings into the ground to form an oval. The tops were then fastened to a ridge pole, the framework being covered with sapé or palm fronds. A smaller beehive-shaped house is made in the same way. Houses of this type are from 6 to 10 feet high. Near the living house they build a small flute hut (*sinaidéhlaru*) and, when the occasion demands, a shaman's hut (*silderutu*).

If the weather is cold while they are out hunting the band or the family may build a temporary brush hut for the night. Sometimes only a windbreak (*sisidutu*) is considered sufficient. On warm nights during the dry season the group camps under a tree. In favorite hunting places the same camp site will be used repeatedly. When the soil around the permanent camp site or village becomes exhausted, fields are cleared some distance away and small huts are put up for the workers. As the distance increases the old camp site is eventually abandoned and a new camp site is established.

As the Nambicuara do not use hammocks, beds, or seats, there is not much in the way of furniture in their shelters. Utensils are restricted to a few gourd vessels, tin cans, burden baskets and small flat baskets, fire fans, bows and arrows, and tools used by men. When they move, these articles are placed in burden baskets which are carried by the women. The Wakítisu do not

7:Roquette-Pinto--12A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

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B16

At the house door —village on the Juina River

Cocozu hut — Juina River

Nambicuara village

341 The circular spot formed by the village grounds in the middle of the bush gradually acquires the appearance of a star, owing to the paths that lead out from its circumference.

[412 413] Access to the village grounds is free. There is no fence or hedge to prevent admittance to the plaza; no fortifications or other defensive features are to be found in the vicinity. (1)

> 1. The Tupian Indians of the Gi-Paraná, on the other hand (like the Tupinambá of old and other [tribes]), obstructed the paths leading to their villages with spikes [estrepes] which had to be removed when they established relations with the Rondon Mission. (See Col. M. Rondon, Conferencias [Lectures], pp. 161-162.)

Nambicuara villages always consist of two houses, which are set face to face at opposite ends of the plaza.

[37] [220] The region consists of extensive forests, stretches of scrubland [cerrado], areas of nearly impenetrable bush [charravascal], and a few stretches of open prairie. The Indians prefer the scrubland as the site of their villages.

The forest is dangerous on account of snakes, wild beasts, and even timber which often crashes down on the hunters; the prairie is dangerous because it exposes the village to enemy attack and does not afford any protection against invaders. But the scrubland serves the purpose very well; it has few disadvantages and many advantages.

342 This the Nambicuara know well: their hut blends into the greyish hues of the surrounding vegetation; it is like a shrub among other shrubs; from a distance it can hardly be distinguished. Its shape, though well defined, merges into the vague forms of the bush.

Naturally, those whose eyes are accustomed to the dust-veiled mass of xerophytic upland vegetation can quickly spot the huts; the illusion cannot deceive an experienced eye. But the mimicry is nevertheless real.

171 [Map] Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld)
382

O Round or oval, of a temporary character.

Houses of a permanent character:

Roof and walls continuous (beehive-shaped house).

Roof and walls distinct.

Walls of stone or sun-dried brick.

10. Araucanians. Cf. Guevara.
20. Paresni. Cf. Max Schmidt.
28. Bacairi. Cf. K. von den Steinen.
31. Trio, Oyana. Cf. de Goeje.
33. Campa. Cf. Otto Nordenskjöld.
36. Ijca, [Evijico?], Cagaba. Cf. Bolinder.
47. Taupilang. Cf. Koch-Gruenberg.
61. Tribes to the northwest of the Amazon. Cf. Whiffen.
64. Huari. Cf. Nordenskjöld.
233. Indians of the Mapuera River. Cf. Coudreau.
234. Chipaya. Cf. Posnansky.
235. Indians of the Upper Guaporé. Cf. Felix de Lima.
277. Indians of the Machifero (Upper Amazon). Cf. Ortiguera.
278. Choquimayo Indians. Cf. Palomino.
2M. Wapishana, Taruma. Cf. Farabee.
SC. Nambicuara. Cf. Roquette-Pinto.
X3. Piaroa. Cf. Chaffanjon.

382 [221] The villages consist of fixed, permanent dwellings; in addition to these home shelters, the Nambicuara also use a type of temporary shelter which they erect rapidly wherever they may happen to be when night falls.

The permanent houses of the Juruena Valley differ but slightly from the dwellings of those Indians who live in the farther reaches of the Serra do Norte.

The Cocozu village we visited on the Juina River consisted of two houses. The first was small, hemispherical, poorly built, and

7: Roquette-Pinto--21A E-4, 5 (no date) 1928 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

[opp. p. 220]

Distribution of round and oval houses (After Nordenskjöld).

(Caption on p. 21.)

342 provided with a fairly large doorway; it could easily hold some twenty people. The other had the shape of a triangular prism, with one of its [lateral] faces to the ground. It was more carefully constructed, and measured nine meters in length, three and a half in width and two and a half in height. One of its ends was closed; on the side, hidden by the leaves which hung from the roof, there was a small door. The other end was fully open. The hut was oriented in an east-west direction, the closed end facing the east. Thus in the afternoon the rays of the sun entered the house for a few hours.

Two forked stakes, one at each end of the building, supported the ridgepole. [222] Several beams designed to hold the huge covering leaves of the babassu palm ran from the ridgepole to the ground.

The palms which were laid on one side of the roof were folded at the top over the ridgepole onto the other side; in order to hold them in this position, two rods ran the length of the house, tied to [283 827] the inner beams with knots of embira (1) cord.

1. A bast fiber yielded by one of the embira trees. (Ed.)

Tagnani and Tawite villages also consist of two huts. Each, with its entrance oriented in an east-west direction, is evenly circular at ground level and conical in shape. From the apex of the cone a pole rises a few spans above the roof; it is always forked at the tip, as shown in the photograph. The doorways are set on opposite sides of the building, facing each other.

We still do not know how the Nambicuara trace the circle which delimits the hut; it must be a freehand line, for that is how they draw this figure on their gourds. In the middle of the house they set up four stakes forked at the tip and a central support. [Fig. 16]

The forked stakes form an overhead rectangle of wood, from which flexible poles run down into the ground along the circle which delimits the house. These poles are secured and connected by horizontal rods which complete the framework of the hut. The covering consists of bacaba palm leaves arranged in layers. As seen from within the hut, the first layer consists of plaited leaflets fastened to the [223] woodwork. [Plate p. 226]

7: Roquette-Pinto--22A E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

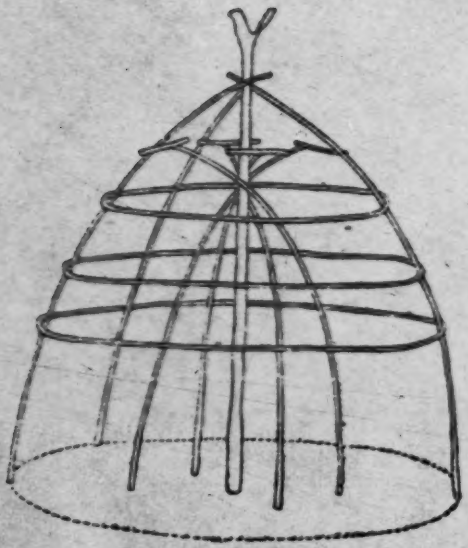


Fig. 16. Framework of a Serra do Norte Indian house.

7: Roquette-Pinto--22B E-4, 5 (no date) 1938 SP17 Nambicuara SP17 (ca. 1912)

[226]

342.

Indian house--Festa da Bandeira (Carumi) River

516

Nambicuara village

342 The external layers cover the whole building, like very precise and well clipped sheets of straw. The side walls are not distinct from the roof, but mere extensions of it.

Of the two houses we have described, in the village close to the Carumi (or Festa da Bandeira) River, the larger covers 30 meters in circumference, the other 28. Their doorways measure 0.37 meters in width by 0.52 meters in height. These two houses stand on a plaza some twenty meters in diameter.

352 354 [252] Inside the huts stand three bamboo grids [giraus] to dry manioc scrapings, and two enormous black pots which could not have come through the doors; lighter utensils and various other implements, as well as ornaments, are kept in the ceiling thatch. This serves as the Indians' closet, where they hide their smaller belongings. [Fig. 24]

354 A small fire burns underneath each grid.

These grids were made up of four bamboo stalks sunk into the ground and supporting a horizontal grate of small bamboo reeds. They measured about two meters in length by one and a half in width.

The huts are not equipped with any smoke holes, and none are needed. The smoke of inside fires filters easily through the interstices of the thatch.

356 Around the dwelling, scattered or in heaps, lie disjointed bones, fragmented coconuts, pods of the jatobá bean, corn cobs, charcoal, and food refuse, mixed with worn-out tools and utensils.

412 In the village on the Festa da Bandeira River, I found beside a house a large object which I only failed to bring back because it would have been absolutely impossible to transport it. It was of a kind commonly found in the sambaquis [224] of the Atlantic coast: a rock pitted with several depressions large enough to hold a fingertip. To one side lay a prodigious quantity of small bacaba nuts, both shelled and unshelled. It has often been inferred that this implement was used to produce fires, but in the Serra do Norte it merely serves to shell palm nuts. This stone, however, was much larger than those generally encountered in the sambaquis. [222 262]

342 The temporary shelter consists of a screen of leaves and branches. The Indians may use it for a few days if hunting in the area is good; then they abandon it.

342 In order to erect one of these screens, which the muleteers call "little hunting huts" [maloquinhas de caça], and which are found scattered between the Juruena and Doze de Outubro rivers, the Indians begin by clearing the ground thoroughly. Then they plant two large leafy branches into the earth, one at each end of a straight line, and bend them at the top over a crosspiece held by two forked stakes sunk into the ground in front.

They complete the covering with straw or with grass rooted up for the occasion, the earth still clinging to its roots.

Inside--or rather beneath--the shelter, a small fire is lit.

Each screen covers an area of approximately two to four square meters. If the Indians are numerous, each family group erects its own shelter. The structure is actually a good representative of what German ethnologists call Windschrim [windscreen].

The Indians of the groups farther north (Tagnani, Tawite) do not build their temporary shelters in the same way.

As a general rule, their provisional dwelling is simpler: it consists of one or more leaves of the babassu or some other palm [225] which are stuck into the ground. This is not a windscreen, but a mere shade against sun or rain squalls.

361 These [latter] Indians, incidentally, live in a region of extensive forests and thick bush which affords adequate protection against the rain; whereas the others inhabit an area consisting largely of fields and scrubland. Another instance of the geographic environment conditioning human behavior.

[121] The Cocozu Nambicuara call their village sicú, while the Anunze call it chicê. These words have the general meaning of "dwelling place": they signify either "house" or "village."

We do not know with certainty how they build their permanent dwellings.

[342] The women alone take part in the building of a hunting shelter; they cut down the necessary branches, while the children help by gathering the grass and straw which serve to complete the roof.

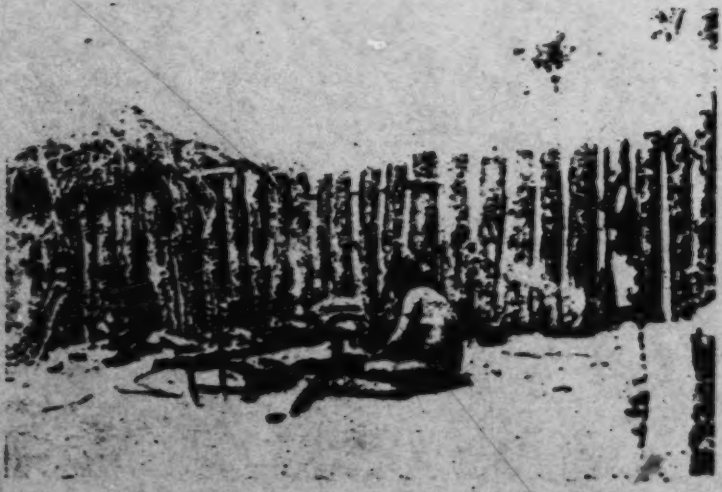
They change their dwelling place drequently. While following the trail that brought us to the Juina River village where we spent the night, we passed several former sites of the village.

7:Roquette-Pinto--25A E-4, 5 (no date)1930 SP17 Nambicuara SP17
(ca. 1912)

342

Hunting shelters--Juina River Indians

516



Serra do Norte Indians

174

but smooth-edged axes, is more akin to the proto-Neolithic or transitional period. The present trend is to recognize in the New World Paleolithic industries . . . but no formal overlapping periods as in Europe. (R. L.)

A later footnote by Heloisa Alberto-Torres which is not reproduced here contains the following statement: ". . . an interesting ethnographic relationship is [established by] the absolute identity of Australian and Nambicuara axes . . ." (Ed.)

At first observation, the Nambicuara might seem to be an old and backward branch of the Paressi tribe.

[308] What we know of the physical anthropology, ethnography and linguistics of both groups, however, invalidates this supposition.

177 Yet their culture bears unmistakable signs of Paressi influence.
[302] The first is the beehive-shaped house, formerly built by the Paressi. This is an import among the Nambicuara: the original house of the Serra do Norte Indians is the screen of leaves and branches, similar to the kijême of the Botocudo (Windschirm of the German ethnologists) and reminiscent of the North American wigwam.

[Fig., p. 61A]

[309] And if they did not borrow the large "round house" from the Paressi, they adopted it from Bolivian Indians.

[310] Another instance of alien influence is the nose plume, which the Paressi do not wear now but which formerly, according to Antonio
177 Pires, they could not do without; and also the nose flute, which
534 [the Nambicuara] play unskilfully, as though it were a little-known instrument of yet unfathomed secrets.

The double flute seems to have been brought from the north. It must be an import from the Maue and Munducuru, with whom the Serra do Norte Indians have had serious clashes as already mentioned above.